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are known to have followed in their retreat corresponds on the whole with that attributed to them in their tribal legends."

Rev. P. O. Bodding[1] however is inclined to give due weight to the traditional origin of the Santals. Summing up the whole position he opines that the Cae and Campa of Santal myths are to be found in Hazaribagh and on the Chotanagpur plateau, where they lived about 600 years ago, and gives it as his conclusion that a study of Santal traditions and their language makes it likely that they reached this place from the west (south-west); and it is not improbable that about two thousand years ago they were on both sides of the Ganges west of Benares.

We would conclude this chapter with a reference to the myths of the other Mundà tribes to see if any side-light may be obtained on the early history of the Santals. Now, speaking generally, there is a good deal of resemblance between the traditions of the Mundàs, the Santals and the Kharias, which makes the conclusion irresistible that they belong to the same stock. We have seen that the Santals say that upto the period the people were at Campa,[2] the

1. *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Santal Parganas, Vol. XXII, pp. 92-95.

2. Campa = According to S. C. Roy, (p. 100. footnote) Campa was also the old name of Bhagalpur and its political boundary "may be stated as extending from

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Santals, Birhòrs, Muṇḍàs and Kuṛbmis were known under the generic name of Kharwars. And we hear that while the Kuṛbmis adopted Hindu customs, the Muṇḍàs were gradually separated. Both the Santals and the Muṇḍàs have legends connected with Bhagalpur, in so far as it is probably indentical with Campa or Campa-puri, near Bhagalpur, once the capital of Lomapada of the Ramayana and Karna of the Mahabharata.[1] A tradition of the place linking it with Mandar Pahar of Muṇḍà myths, a building of stone attributed to Raja Kola or Chola, the probability that Colgong or Koholgram may point to a former settlement of the Pre-Dravidians, all raise a strong presumption that it was a seat of the Muṇḍàs in some period of Indian history, when they lived side by side with the Santàls. Similarly, Khàiri gaṛ of Santal

Lekhiterai to Rajmahal on the Ganges, and from the Pareshnath hill along Damudar river to Kalna on the Bhagirathi." Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India" p. 478. Colonel Dalton (*Ethnology of Bengal*, page 211) identifies Khairagrah and Chai Champa of Santal tradition with places in the Hazaribagh district. But it seems more probable that these names were given by the Santals to places in the Hazaribagh district after the names of their former homes in the north and west. (At p. 219, however, Col. Dalton speaking about the Beer-hors, says that according to tradition they came to Hazaribagh district from Khairagarh (in the Kaimur hills), Ref. *The Muṇḍàs and their country*.

1. Ref. *The Muṇḍàs and their country*, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, p. 99.

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Sili Sikhar,[1] some from Manbhum, while others from Dhalbhum. They asserted that Mayurbhanj was not their original seat. 175 167

Conclusion

We would conclude this chapter with a discussion of the origin of the name "Santal." In this connection, it is worthwhile to remember that the Pre-Dravidian Muṇḍà tribes uniformly designated themselves as Hòṛ, Hòṛò or Ho. The words mean "man." It implies that the tribes were proud enough to consider themselves as men, and indirectly thought of the rest of mankind as sub-human. Even to-day one can hear a Santal saying, "Mit' hòṛ dòñ ñelledea bañ dòe Hòṛ kan 'bañ dòe Diku can" (I saw one man, but I cant't say whether he was a Santal or a non-Santal). The traditional origin of the Santals however consistently refers to them as Kharwars. A legend about the origin of the name was referred to us by Raghunath Mañjhi, teacher of Rairangpur, Mayurbhanj, which goes to show that the forefathers of the tribe got the name from a hero of that name. There are many at Mayurbhanj, who derive 101 [539]

1. 'Sili' is one of the Eastern parganas of the present Ranchi district. 'Sikhar' is probably an abbreviation of 'Sikharbhum', the ancient name of Manbhum dt. It is in the territory of the Raja of Panchacote. [103]

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956

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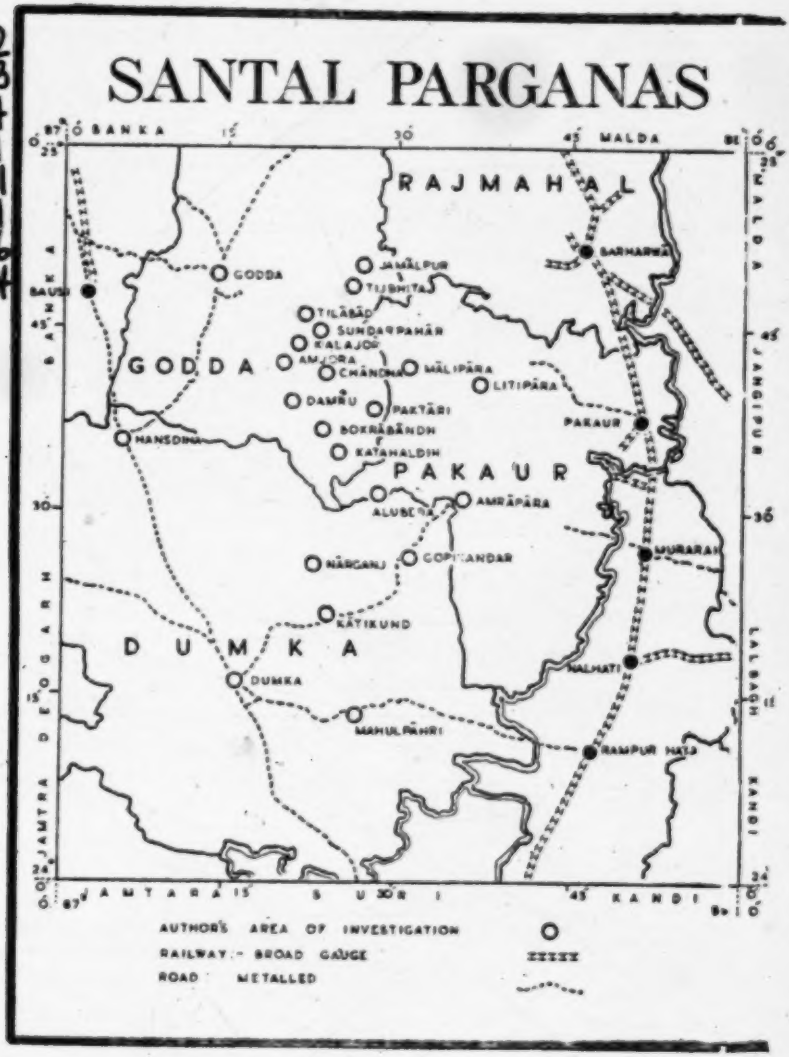

N. B. Scale[1] one inch = 13.5 Miles.

[1][i.e. on original page.—Analyst]

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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SANTAL PARGANAS

CHAPTER II

Material Culture of the Santal.

The Village : The Santal villages with their houses on both sides of the street are situated on the plains. These villages are not well fortified. In each village only one unpaved avenue can be found, the width of which is about twenty five to thirty feet and the length is equal to the length of the village. There are tall trees at intervals on both sides of the avenue which make the path shady. In a big village generally twenty to thirty houses can be seen and in a small village there are only ten to twelve houses. In each village a Majhisthan is built, where Kulidrup[1] (Panchayat) takes place and taxes are collected by the head-man of the village, and there the Manjhi Haram (head-man) worships the Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Burhi. In almost every village a Jahersthan can be found which is nothing but a cluster of Sal (Shorea robusta) trees where the Santals worship their village deities. The water supply of the village is derived from a streamlet which runs nearby. The Santal villages are very neat and clean and all the villagers take particular care to keep it so, and scavenging is done by the pigs and dogs which help in keeping the village neat. As soon as the houses have all been erected and the village established, some trees such as mango, jack-fruit etc. are planted ; the Satals[2] have a belief that these trees bring prosperity. The Headman's house is generally built more or less in the centre of the village and close to the Majhisthan. The villages are generally known by their place names as Sunderpahari, Chandna, etc.

[1 Erratum: i.e., kulidrup. 2 Erratum: i.e., Santal. -- Analyst]

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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SANTAL PARGANAS

Federal Officers (Parganait) and Assistant Federal Officer (Deshmanjhi)

A *Parganait* is an officer who is in charge of several villages collectively known as *bunglow*. (For administrative purposes several villages are grouped together in what is now known as a *bunglow*). The number of villages contained within each vary in every case. The place where I worked, the Sundarpahari *bunglow*, within Godda sub-division, consisted of the following 28 villages.

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Villages of Sundarpahari Bunglow

1. Tetria
2. Domdi
3. Kusumghati
4. Tilabad.
5. Amjora.
6. Jisubathan.
7. Bara Kalajore.
8. Choto Kalajore.
9. Mohompur.
10. Sundarpahari.
11. Salodi
12. Salpathra.
13. Paharpur.
14. Rampur.
15. Jitpur.
16. Bara Kalajuri.
17. Chota Kalajuri.
18. Gamaroe.
19. Gamarbera.
20. Dahubera.
21. Telbitha.
22. Jamalpur.
23. Jiapuri.
24. Ladhapathor.
25. Phulberia.
26. Manibathan.
27. Dhapahari.
28. Zolo

As a *Manjhi* has an assistant so the *Parganait* also has one known as *Desh-Manjhi*. There are also *Chakladars* who are appointed by the *Parganait* who act as the messengers of the two above officers. Outside the Damin area there is no *Parganait* and *sardars* are appointed by the Sub-divisional officer having a number of *chowkidars* under him.

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pieces to make for convenience in eating with the fingers, and it is a point of etiquette to serve each guest with a variety of delicacies from different parts of the bird or animal being eaten, but the flesh from the head is reserved for the chief mourner and his kinsfolk.

With this ceremony one part of the final rites has been completed. The villagers who assisted at the cremation have been safeguarded against the dangers that are inherent in handling the corpse of a dead person and the village is again clean. The mourners have received much comfort from the display of village solidarity and from the sympathy of their kinsfolk and they are free once more to resume their daily work. They have also re-established contact of a kind with the spirit of the departed and so satisfied one of the most persistent longings of the human heart. He has spoken with them and explained from his present knowledge the reason for his death. The presence of the bones within the house or at least at the base of a tree just beyond the village acts as a continual reminder of his nearness to them. So far as the funeral rites are designed to compensate the living for their loss, all that can be done has now been done, but something still remains to be done before the departed spirit will be at rest. The bones have to be taken away to the river, where they will be floated away on the tide. The river in question is the Damodar,[1] which is known to them by the name *Nāī*, or River (all other rivers are called *gaḍa*); it lies from eighty to one hundred miles away from the farther villages—a considerable journey. The time for undertaking this expedition is dictated by the claims of work and other social obligations, and it usually happens that a party from a group of neighbouring villages set out together in the short period of comparative leisure which follows the transplanting of rice during the rains. An animal is set aside at home to be used at the final feast that will take place on the return of the travellers. Before they leave home an ear of the animal is pierced and the blood which falls is mixed with some sun-dried rice that is placed in the earthen pot with the bones. The ceremony at the river is carried out at one of several traditional cremation grounds that abound on its banks. These are Hindu sites, and the attendants, who are usually of the *Hāḍi* and *Dom* castes, receive a fee from the Santals—a cloth and some money. The ceremonial reminds one of the procedure followed at the "water marriage" celebrations by the village tank. The site has to be bought, and upon it cowrie shells are placed in a circle

[1] See Chapter 3, p. 28.